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TOP SECRET SENSITIVE

1 April 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

Morning Meeting of 1 April 1969

In response to the Director's question of yesterday, the DD/I noted the completion of a memorandum evaluating the Robert Krim article, "SDS Philosophy Edges Toward Marxism," which appeared in the 31 March Washington Post. He commented the article was more "right than wrong" and noted the SDS is splitting into two factions. 25X1

[redacted]

DD/I mentioned receipt of a note from the Director regarding Kissinger's request for material pertaining to Guatemala.

Lehman for Godfrey reported that a memorandum has been provided the White House in response to their request of 30 March for an assessment of the ChiCom political scene. He noted that the 9th Party Congress is under way and briefed on the various issues before it.

Lehman noted Soviet concern with developments in Czechoslovakia and reported that Grechko and the Deputy Foreign Minister returned to Prague this morning.

D/ONE noted that no Estimates are scheduled for USIB consideration this week and that no meeting will be held on Thursday. He related that NIE 60/70-69, Trends in Black Africa, and NIE 80/90-69, Economic Trends and Prospects in Latin America, were coordinated by telephone, with State footnoting each as too pessimistic. DIA requested that USIB meet again to consider these two Estimates, but D/ONE called Admiral Lowrance and dissuaded him.

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Carver noted that it was relatively quiet in Vietnam over the long weekend.

Maury reported that Senator Symington will probably raise again the desirability of issuing some clarifying statement to cope with Senator Proxmire's allegation that our budget is in the amount of $2 billion. The Director commented that we will simply have to "roll with it." Otherwise, we will find ourselves in the position of having to state what the magnitude of our budget is. The Director noted that people who have a need to know already know the size of our budget. 25X1

[redacted]

DD/S&T reported that Friday's sessions with Dr. McLucas went well and that he will be returning for another half-day briefing in the near future.

DD/S&T noted his considerable activity over the weekend seeking to coordinate the CORONA mission.

[redacted] 25X1

for L. K. White

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SDS Philosophy Edges Toward Marxism

By Robert Krim
Special to The Washington Post

News Analysis

AUSTIN, Tex., March 30—"Our primary task is to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement," declared Michael Klonsky, executive secretary of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), in his report to the SDS National Committee meeting at the University of Texas today.

Klonsky's belief in revolutionary communism is typical of the political beliefs of most of the leaders and many members in SDS today.

During this three-day conference with 1000 SDS leaders from across the country, delegates have phrased their arguments in Marxist terms. "Imperialism," "the working class," "class oppression" and "wars of liberation" had been continually referred to in debate.

New SDS Terms

This Communist rhetoric and philosophy is relatively new to SDS. Two or three years ago virtually no student radical seemed to believe in Marxism.

"The revolution" was still a joke to most on the new left in 1966. The new left of that period was anti-ideological.

Only three years later "the revolution" is far from a joke. There is an ideology now which all factions in SDS adhere to. It advocates a Marxist analysis of classes in America. It attacks the United States as a capitalist, imperialist and racist state that is ruled by a small elite. American involvement in Vietnam is seen as a natural extension of the elite's "capitalist imperialism."

The debate within SDS at this conference centers on the future of the nine-year-old radical movement. The student radicals feel they must broaden their constituency if they are to bring about "the revolution."

Two Different Factions

At least two different factions in SDS advocate different approaches to the problem. The "worker-student alliance" believes that the students should consider themselves "oppressed people" like white and black workers. The second group, commonly referred to as the "New Left," endorses the principle of an alliance between workers and students.

The New Left faction within SDS (known as "the Right") retains much of the humanism and individualism of the mid-1960s. Many of its members are pacifists who, though intellectually accepting the need for revolution, will not accept violence as a means.

For the New Left group the style of life is still an important factor in their radical beliefs. The student subculture from marijuana to the new sounds in rock, underground movies and the underground press is all part of the "radical life style."

This group accepts Marx as an economist who is relevant to the society for which he wrote, but not completely applicable to the modern American society.

Said one SDS leader in the New Left, "MAO, Che and Lenin were all very relevant to the Chinese, Cuban and Russian societies, respectively. They each won a revolution. That was a good thing to happen." But he goes no further in applying them to American problems.

Marx, Lenin, Mao

This is not the case among the members of "the worker-student alliance." Marx, Lenin and Mao are the theorists—"all others are revisionists." This group makes no bones about it; they accept the Marxist-Leninist political philosophy.

The members of the worker-student alliance are not members of the Communist Party, however. Many of them are members of the Progressive Labor Party (PL). They ally themselves with "the revolutionary communism" of Mao Tse-Tung and Communist China.

The worker-student alliance faction does not go along with the radical life style of the New Left. They wear their hair short, their clothes are "straight" and they refuse to use drugs. This faction's resolution at the SDS conference here to condemn the use of drugs by students was defeated.

The New Left faction accuses PL of being controlled by Peking. PL, while admitting that they are Maoists, replies that the New Left is made up of "fascists" and employs the fascist rhetoric of "anti-communism."

Fights Break Out

The battle between these two factions has come several times to fist fights in local campus SDS meetings and at this conference in Austin. Many believe that SDS eventually will split apart along these factional lines.

In fact, the New Left spread rumors at this SDS meeting that they would withdraw if their resolutions were defeated by the worker-student alliance faction. The New Left faction won all the votes at the conference.

As is the custom, the delegates at the December SDS conference rose at their last session and sang the old trade union hymn "Solidarity Forever." This year, however, the song was interrupted by the chant "Defeat Faults Unity." It will probably become nearly impossible for SDS to sing "Solidarity Forever" in the not too distant future.